J: Herskovits E-4, 5 (1934) 1937 SV3 Held SV3
Mirebalais

58 Though a certain prestige attaches to marriages solemnized by the Church, it does not follow that these are any the more stable, or effective in performing the functions of the family, than the *plaçage* unions. In the main, especially in the countryside, socially sanctioned matings which do not enjoy the approval of the Church endure as long and hold as respected a place in the community as those in which the woman wears the ring given her in a Church marriage.

There is an obvious difference in the ease with which the two types of marriages can be broken. Once the blessing of the Church has been given, canonical law makes divorce difficult in the extreme, while a *plaçage* mating needs only the mutual consent of the parties concerned to be dissolved. Yet a girl who is to be *placée* is given no less careful instruction before being sent to her mate than one destined for a Church wedding, while in similar fashion the parents of the *placée* make as sure that the man to whom she is given is able to provide for her and her offspring as they would were a Church wedding involved.

For both forms of mating, the customary age of betrothal for a girl is between fifteen and seventeen, and marriage follows when the parents of both the man and the girl are satisfied that the young people are prepared to take up life together. The young man, who must usually have reached the age of nineteen to twenty-one years,[9] must possess a house with the necessary furnishings; a field, ten or twelve goats, and a similar number of pigs, as well as a beast of burden such as a burro or a horse. Above all, however, he must properly "respect" the parents of the girl by helping them work their fields or performing other tasks, such as seeing that the men are called for a *combite* (though he would not be expected to provide the feast), or summoning those needed to do thatching.

Whether married in church or mated under the sanctions of folk-custom, the resulting union is regarded as permanent,

1: Herskovits E-4, 5 (1934) 1937 SV3 Haiti SV3
Mirebalais

so that both forms must be considered by one interested in social institutions as constituting true marriage. The prestige which is derived from a Church union, however, is of appreciable significance; sufficient, indeed, to motivate weddings at which the children and even grandchildren of the principals act as attendants. A man and woman may live together *en placées* ten or fifteen years or more before they have amassed the necessary amount to pay for a legal marriage. It is only when parents of young people are prosperous enough to pay for a Church marriage that their union receives the stamp of approval of the Church, for the Church wedding involves considerable expenditure in terms of Haitian peasant economy. A "first class" wedding, for example, calls for the payment of 47.50 gourdes; a "second class" ceremony, 40 gourdes; and the least expensive, or "third class" rite costs 34 to 36 gourdes, while in addition to this, five gourdes must be paid the assistant who rings the church bells, and a fixed fee of 25 gourdes is assessed for the civil registration of the marriage. The wedding ring is, of course, indispensable; a modest one, of gold, costs 60 gourdes. Food and drinks served at the festivities following the Church service cost, conservatively, another fifty gourdes, while if an ox is slaughtered to provide a more elaborate feast, the amount is correspondingly greater. Finally, the person who reads the necessary prayers before the festivities begin and the musicians who play for the *bal* must also be compensated. It can readily be seen, therefore, how a man and woman may live together in a *placée* union for years before their resources permit a legal marriage.

Whatever the type of mating, the first steps toward betrothal are taken by the young man. Though he has courted the girl of his choice and his proposal is acceptable to her, customary procedure demands that she refer him to her parents, whereupon his parents appear before those of the girl to make their plea on his behalf. If both families reside

1: Herskovits E-4, 5 (1934) 1937 SV3 Haiti SV3
Mirebalais

595 533 [illegible] market place, quarreling is invariably heard; or if one of them sings *point* — derisive songs — against the other and goes so far as to name the object of derision, fighting and court action follow.

58 595 684 Though many cases of *plaçage* are the result of affairs between young people which result in conception, it is essential in any event that the consent of the families of the man and the woman concerned be obtained to give the mating social validity. When the union is once entered upon, divorce occurs only with the abandonment or mistreatment of the woman, or her infidelity, for in these *plaçage* matches, the moral support of her family makes a man reluctant to send his wife away without ample justification. When a man does divorce a *placée* wife for reasons of infidelity, she may either go to another man or return to the home of her parents, where she supports herself. If after a period of years she has not established a household with another man, it often happens that her husband takes her back. Most frequently, however, where children have been born to a mating, a woman's infidelity is punished merely by beating; and proof that a wife is a wife whether or not she is legally "married" is offered by the Haitian man in this fact that a *placée* is beaten for this and less serious reasons as readily as a legal wife. Prompt [754] action is taken against the adulterer, which, though it may on occasion be as drastic as murder, generally takes the form of [848] recourse to magic charms. Women who carry on illicit relationships take all care, therefore, to guard unceasingly against the birth of offspring.

595 593 Many men, at least, hold that a man is often much closer to a *placée* than to a legal wife, for the former is more attentive and less demanding than the wife with her legally assured status and permanence of tenure. Thus it comes about that [454] *placée* spouses are frequently given generous money gifts, to be saved for the future of their children, while as a man grows older he may take up his residence with a *placée* wife, where

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

treatment. In the absence of sufficient analytic material on the intervening years since his book was written, a prefatory note such as this can do little more than comment on Haitian society, either in terms of its present design or in terms of the recent events that may have modified it.

The central thesis of Leyburn's book is that Haitian society is sharply divided into two segments, and that the national institutional structure is such that no significant alteration in that division has occurred in the entire course of Haiti's history as a sovereign nation. At the base of the society is the rural agricultural sector, making up perhaps as much as 95 per cent of the population; at the top the elite, which dominates the governmental apparatus and all national institutions. These two segments of the society differ, in Leyburn's view, in all important regards: level of income, source of income, education, language, religion, social forms, values and attitudes, and all else. By carefully describing the history of Haitian society from the eve of the revolution until the midst of the United States occupation, he reveals both the origin of this vast social cleavage and the various means employed for its perpetuation. Leyburn was so impressed by the gap which separated yeomanry and elite that he chose to label these social segments castes rather than classes. Members of the elite earn their livings as rentiers, merchants, professionals, and in government, and never engage in manual labor of any sort. They are predominantly urban in residence; their sons attend private lower schools, and then go on to higher education, usually abroad. They are French-speaking, although they also speak Creole, Haiti's national language. Elite religion is Catholicism, elite forms of marriage and domestic organization are "legitimate" and "western." Elite members view themselves as a kind of aristocracy, and feel little commonality in their sharing of Haiti and of Haitian history with the yeomen.

In sharp contrast, the yeomanry is rural, poor, works the land, is illiterate and Creole-speaking only, believes in *vodoun* rather than in orthodox Catholicism, usually marries by common law and is sometimes polygynous, and remains substantially isolated from the outer world. Finally and importantly—though its particular significance is changing—the elite differs from the rural sector in that the countryman is predominantly negroid in phenotype, while members of the elite are prevailingly lighter-skinned.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

it seems not radically to have affected the masses but only the fairly well-to-do.

The *Royal Almanac* for the year 1814 touches proudly upon the moral state of the kingdom. The author of the almanac, the Comte de la Limonade, says: "Great attention is paid to morals and manners. Marriage is honored, protected, and encouraged; no Haitian who is unmarried can fill any place of distinction. Divorce is not permitted." All this was true; yet the mass of Haitians still remained unmarried. Nevertheless, the quotation indicates the extent to which Christophe had gone in his effort to reform marriage and morals among his people; to set them in the European tradition and draw them out of their African and colonial backgrounds.

While Christophe was trying to effect reforms in the North, Pétion was accepting his Southern folk as they were. Hardly a law during his twelve-year administration touches the subject of marriage. The élite colored people continued to make proper legal marriages and so insure the inheritance of their legitimate children. The common folk lived their family lives without weddings, and if property questions arose, custom ruled, backed by public opinion in their little communities.

Such are the backgrounds out of which modern Haitian sex relations have developed. From African tradition came family life, the importance of property to stabilize a union, insignificance of a wedding ceremony, familiarity with matrilineal kinship and descent; from French colonial practice, formal marriage to establish a family with social ambition, casual sex relations for pleasure outside this marriage, the claim of legitimate children to all property (in contrast to folk custom, where few legitimate children were born); from Dessalines, an emphasis upon the African tradition and realism; from Christophe, an insistence upon strict French practice in marriage and in the passage of property.

From among these alternatives Haiti made a choice which is an excellent example of what Keller calls "automatic selection in the mores."[7] There was no congress to select one procedure rather than another. Because Pétion and Boyer followed a *laissez-faire* policy in social matters, the people took the path of least resistance.

7. A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution* (revised ed., New York, 1931), chaps. IV and V.